/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 476 464 [462] The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 417 The fence which each field must have for protection against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

● 244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (õs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preperation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 [251] other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the [237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

● 244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their [821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 [262] A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
● 244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlā̃l).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*knáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *mote*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 262 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin (*sapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsçvi*, or *3nil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *pnil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera polata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 262 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first, and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulù*, a word that forms the root of *Tuluá*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guineo*, corrupted into *kuciò*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *Hal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *Bakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ãytse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 [249] A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
● 244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale /305 cont./ began more
244 433 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 154 [198] The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologically, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis- [243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 464 166 During the months of July, August, September, and October, the natives have little work. This is why those from Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 433 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
●244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva- [412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the [256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on 241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families 433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of [563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953. [124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some [123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

● 244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

The

/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
(476) are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.[3]	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	C	V	%	Potatoes A	C	V	%
1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
2.	15	15	1	.....				
3.	...	...	...	.....				
4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

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433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is in-
[244] tended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger con-
[262] sumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food
[464] items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,6	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] [434] [439] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] [276] [273] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

6: Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

[Mosoco]

/313/

128 244 43 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/313 cont./ [Morocoʼ]

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465

Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.°	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	80	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	160,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	160,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

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43
465

Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
7.	30	40	...	....	...	40	30,00		30,00 (17)
	40 (16)	30	...	....	...	30	60,00		.....
	70	70	....	....	...	70	140,00	140,00	30,00
8.	40	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		.....
	20 (16)	10	...	....	...	20	40,00		.....
	60	50	...	....	...	60	120,00	120,00	.....
9.	15	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		.....
	40 (16)	..	...	....		..	.....		32,00
	55	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	32,00
10.	40	200	140	400,00		60	120,00		.....
	30	50	...	....		50	100,00		.....
	70	250	140	400,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	.....
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		.....
	20 (16)	15	...	....		15	30,00		.....
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	.....
12.	30	100	70	250,00		30	60,00		90,00 (18)
	30	80	70	250,00		20	40,00		30,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	300,00	120,00
13.	40	80	50	250,00		30	60,00		.....
	35 (16)	35	...	....		35	70,00		.....
	75	115	50	250,00	43,4	65	130,00	380,00	.....
14.	30	60	36	180,00		36	72,00		.....
	30 (16)	40	8	32,00		22	64,00		.....
	60	100	32	136,00	22,0	68	136,00	272,00	.....
15.	20	160	100	400,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	24	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	124	720,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	35	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		.....
	25	60	36	120,00		36	72,00		.....
	60	160	74	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	.....

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

/315/ [Morocco]

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43
465

Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.	...	...	...	....	...	...	.....	.....	.....
18.	70	700	665	1.732,00		254	500,00		308,20 (19)
	127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		.....
	197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	886,00	2.877,00	389,20
19.	20	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		65,00
	25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
	55	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.	50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(21) 60'21
	30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		.....
	80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	72,00
21.	20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		.....
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		.....
	40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	.....
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		.....
	5 (16)	5	...	....		5	10,00		.....
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	.....
23.	30	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		.....
	30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		133,00 (17)
	60	90	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	133,00
	30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		.....
	30	60	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
	50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
25.*	130 (22)	530	500	3.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	3.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

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105 178 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has [244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

?tHemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).